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VOL. VIII.—NO. 45.

TRAGIC PAGES.

Closing Chapter of the Mine-Workers' Drama.

Exploited by Big and Small Capitalists, Deceived by their Labor Leaders, Left in the Lurch by a Hired Parsons' Class, the Mine Workers Have About Reached a Degree of Degradation from Which Nothing but the Revolutionary Inspiration of Socialism can Raise them—Tell-tale Dialogue with an Un-suspecting Operator.

When the Socialist workingman asserts that the capitalist class is the meanest class that ever ruled a nation he has abundant evidence at hand to prove his case. The Lord of the Manor under feudalism put himself at the head of his men, took his life and his sword in his hand and marched erect to fight in bloody conquest for his ends. The capitalist however never fights, he buys his fighting men. Not on the field of honor but in the marts of chicanery has he come by his possessions. Our eminent sausage dealers and distinguished soap makers have come into their wealth by all kinds of cheating, lying, fraud, deceit and legal subterfuge.

It must be an interesting study, therefore, to find out what particular set of our ruling best holds the mirror up to nature. Which wing of our ruling class is a composite picture of them all. Without a doubt, it is the Pennsylvania coal mine operator, whether he be of the cockroach or full developed type, the minnow or the shark.

If a doubting Thomas should read the above, let him scan the following tale.

While walking over a mountain road in the soft coal district of Pennsylvania, last summer, I met one of the cockroach type of coal operators. He took me for a Drummer; that I was a socialist organizer never entered into his philosophy. I took him for a fraud from general appearance and on general principles and found later that I was correct. After the usual greetings had been exchanged, the following conversation took place.

—How is the coal-mining business at present?

Operator—“Oh; can't complain, poor prices for coal, but I am making out all right.”

—What do you get per ton?

Operator—“55 cents at the tipple.” (The tipple is that portion of the mouth of the mine from which the coal is dumped into the railroad cars.)

—How much do you pay your men?

Operator—“45 cents, run of mine.”

—And your other expenses are?

Operator—“Royalty, 7½ cents per ton; mules and their stabbings, mule drivers' wages, cars, power, wear and tear, etc., bring each ton of coal up to 62 cents.”

—“63 cents! Why, man alive, you have just told me that you only receive 55 cents per ton. Do you mean to tell me you are in business for your health? How can you afford to lose 8 cents on each ton you mine?”

Operator—“Very easy to explain, my young friend, very easy. You see, I have a company store; 60 men work in my mine; every last mother's son of them has to deal in my store; I charge all the way from 25 to 35 per cent, and sometimes 50 per cent, over the store-keeper's prices in the city. It is the store that makes the money, not the mine.”

—“Suppose the men go to the village so as to buy things cheaper, what then?”

Operator—“What then? Why, I fire them, of course. What do you take me for? If they don't deal in my store, they don't work in my mine.”

—“Suppose you fire them, what then?”

Operator—“Does them no good. All names look alike to them, in this locality. They have stores. They've got to work in our mines, buy in our stores, live in our houses or starve. As they are mostly married, they work for us. They have simply got to.”

—“Is there not a law on the statute books of Pennsylvania prohibiting these stores?”

Operator—“Yes; but what the hell is it amount to? They don't enforce that and that settles it.”

—“How much cash do your men get month after the store bill is paid?”

—“The operator stopped, put his hands on his fat sides and laughed so moderately that I thought he would burst a blood vessel; then he said: ‘How much cash, did you say? Why, no cash, or hardly any; you see, it's like this: say a man makes \$39 in a month. His bill in the store is \$24. This entitles him to \$6. Does he get it? Yes and no. This is what we do: we give him a coupon on the store for \$5. Then give him a one-dollar bill to go and blow himself. One dollar cash out of thirty, why, that's all right ain't it?’ Here our thrifty capitalist went into another fit of laughter at the clever way in which the slaves of his mine were treated.

I again resumed my questioning: “You say the law is not enforced?”

Operator—“No, nary an enforce.”

—“Does the church interfere?”

Operator—“No. (This with much for my ignorance) ‘They mind

NEW YORK, FEBRUARY 5, 1899.

PRICE 2 CENTS.

A HIND LOOK.

Socialist Forecast Compared with Subsequent Events.

The Condition of the Workingmen who Left Holyoke for the War—What they Say now—The Words of Warning Uttered in May of Last Year by Comrade Rutherford, Who, Since then, has become Alderman, and Now Finds Himself by Strange Providential Dispensation on the Aldermanic Committee to Aid these Unfortunates.

HOLYOKE, Mass., Feb. 1.—When our soldiers went to the front they were told pertinent truths by Comrade Rutherford. At the time, he was severely criticised by our patriots. Now Holyoke is swarming with soldiers of the war who are out of work. While the embalmers of meat, the sellers of guns and ammunitions, and the rest of our capitalists who ran and profited by the war are warm in these cold winter days, these deluded soldiers, who took the capitalist pretences of glory seriously, are now shivering with want; and, as an irony of fate, or perhaps, a providential dispensation to help drive the lesson home to our workers, our then maligned comrade, who now is on the Board of Aldermen, is on the COMMITTEE FOR MILITARY AID, to help these poor fellows out.

Some eight of these have already died in the Committee's hands for relief. One of these victims portrays the whole situation well when he said:

“Well, I have just about given up trying to get a job, and in town I can't express my feelings if his words don't express them. Some people have got an idea that we fellows went down there in Cuba just for the fun there was in it. The sooner they believe themselves of that impression the better. I for one didn't go for the fun of it or for curiosity's sake. I went because I felt it was my duty to go. I went because I was told it was my duty to go. I went because I was told it was my duty to go.”

“If we didn't do such a lot of fighting we were there ready to fight just the same and we suffered more in two months than the average person suffers in a life time. When we went there were about six or eight of us who had not been working for some time. Not that we were unwilling to work, but we were too tired to work. We were so tired that when we were employed we running short and didn't need us.”

“While we were gone business picked up and the jobs which we could have had back had we been here were filled by new comers. Now we are home again and it is simply impossible to get a job. Some people have got an idea that we can work any time we want it. I was sick for several months after returning but am better now and ready for work. I have been trying every day for several weeks to get a job but it is no use. The places are all filled.”

This young man is a bright lad and worthy of consideration. He is one of the members of Comrade D who are without work but who are ready to be up and going if a place is only opened to them.

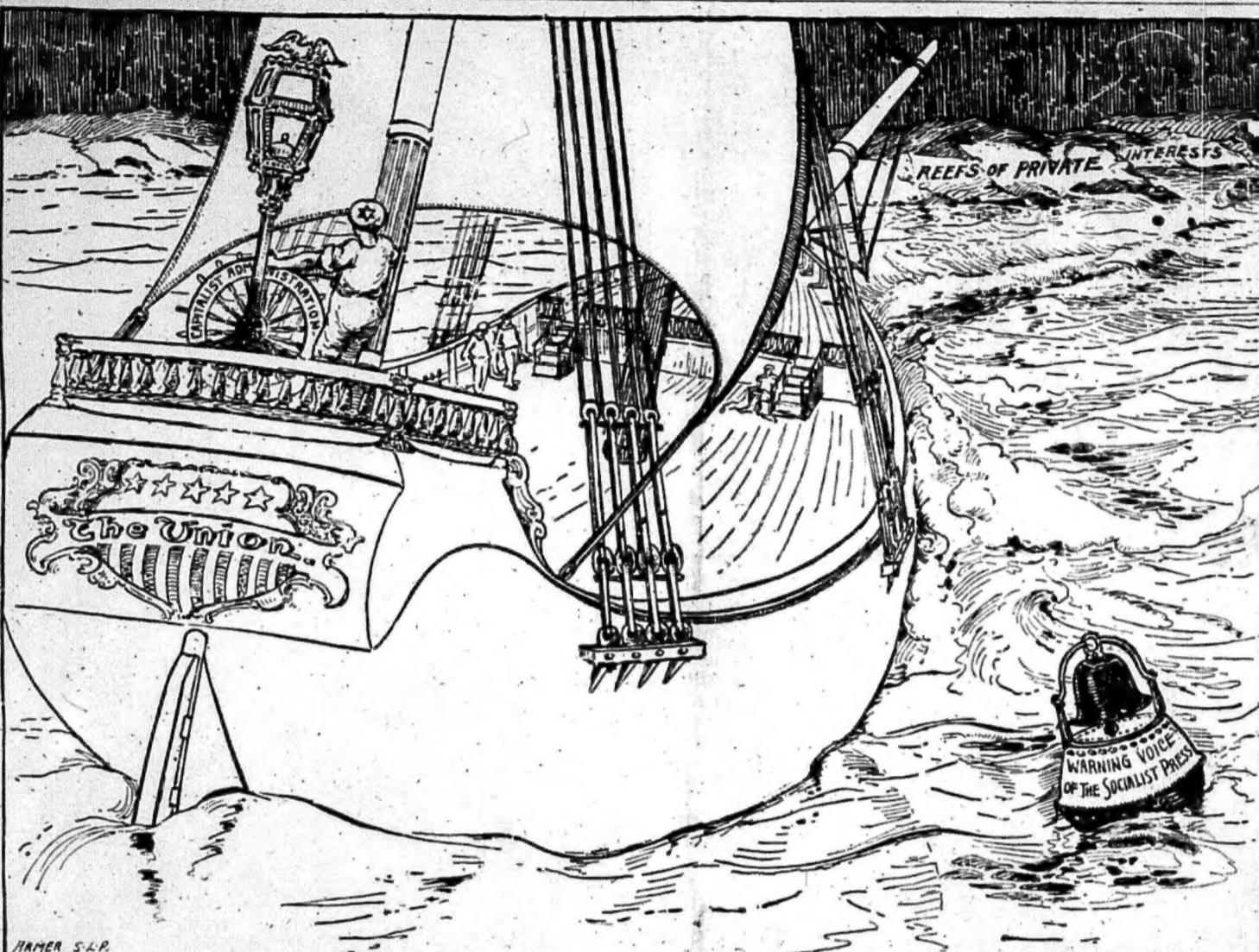
At this season, it is well to look back and recall the words of Comrade Rutherford to the Holyoke workingmen, for which he was blamed by the patriots and labor fakirs and laugher, at by these same workingmen, it will be well to contrast his language, which was everywhere held by Socialists, with the language then held and the attitude then struck by the labor misleaders of all stripes. On May 1 of last year, our unthinking people being just then intoxicated with Dewey's victory, the danger of which they now begin to realize, Comrade Rutherford addressed the people of Holyoke with the following open letter, published in the “Globe” of that city:

Gentlemen—I am in receipt of a gilt-edged printed invitation card inviting me to attend a labor mass meeting at City Hall, next Sunday afternoon, at 2 o'clock. By special arrangement, I will help to conduct the stage at City Hall, as a background. I may also be permitted to say a few words, providing the stat oratros, Lloyd of Boston, Pierce of Worcester, and Gompers of New York, do not see fit to consume all the available time. However, I am restricted to speak on the labor question only, and in no manner mention Comrade Rutherford, for me to do that I should certainly consider it to be my duty to be present at any labor meeting. But by a previous invitation I am to be present at a similar meeting at Lawrence on that day. Still, I should hate to miss my say at City Hall, here providing I were permitted to do so.

Therefore take advantage of the “Globe” to say in an open letter what I would say at City Hall next Sunday. I should say: The workingmen, able-bodied of the city are in special favor at this hour of the country's need and danger. They are always in favor when there is fighting to be done, and are often the ones to be made while others are skinned and exploited. It would be well for our able-bodied fellow wage slaves not to take SERIOUSLY THE PROMISES OF THEM TO REINSTATE THEM AFTER THE WAR IS OVER into their usual places. The word of Patriotic is to be taken in troth and the promises are not binding upon them. They always look out for A No. 1, and for the dollar. In 1861-65, when the able-bodied workingmen were fighting for their country for \$13 a month, they had to take their pay depreciated money, while the capitalist had a special money of their own. They did not take the depreciated money, as the capitalist did the money, when he loaded the Government to carry on the war, but they insisted on getting gold for their part of patriotism. That is the kind of patriots the capitalists are, they want you fellow workingmen to do the fighting and they stay at home to reap what profits they may come out of it.

And when YOU COME HOME CRIPPLED, THEY HAVE NO USE FOR YOU, and if you should be fortunate enough to come home able-bodied, you may find a new labor-displacing machine, doing your work and bettering your former master of his promises. He will tell you that was a war-measure and must be accepted as such. Patriotic is noble and good, and nations are daily blushing the word and the deeds. Their patriotism is money, sound money, mind you, and lots of it, and it has come out of your hides, fellow workingmen. So I say to you fellow workingmen, by all means be patriotic, but don't forget that you as workingmen are wage

The People.



“THOU, TOO, SAIL ON O SHIP OF STATE, SAIL ON, O UNION, STRONG AND GREAT—HUMANITY IS HANGING BREATHLESS ON THY FATE.”

their own business, stand in with us, or they get no salary.”

—“Does the Union kick?”

Operator—“No. The fellows that officer the Union are all right. Some of us run the CHECK-OFF for them, that is, we collect the dues for them. Then, again, when their Union is in trouble, we loan them money.” (If any of our readers doubts this last statement I will, upon request, supply names and amounts loaned by operators to the United Mine Workers' officers.) “Then, again, the Union is bucking De Armitt, they leave us alone; in fact, they are on our side.”

Having pumped the loquacious operator dry, I parted with him, confident of the fact that our ruling class is the meanest that ever ruled in the world's history, and, furthermore, that the coal mining portion of them for colossal meanness is the worst that ever occurred.

The above dialogue must suggest some very interesting questions. For instance, the coal is mined, placed in the railroad cars at a net cost of 65 cents per ton. In the mixed ale flats in South Brooklyn the hod-carrier's wife buys her coal by the pail. The pail weighs 20 pounds. The price is 10 cents, or ½ cent a pound, or \$1.20 per ton of 2,240 pounds.

QUERY I.—Who gets the difference?

QUERY II.—If Mother Nature supplies the coal free, if the miner mines it for about 20 cents per ton (for with the pluck-me-store robbery, that is what it amounts to), how comes it that the famished proletarians of New York pay \$1.20 per ton, i. e., 56 times the original cost? As it can't be transportation, can it be the “wages of abstinence”?

Mr. Dolan says: “You must have capital to fight capital with,” hence

QUERY III.—Where in Hades does the proletarian's capital come in starting with the pluck-me-store basis?

Another interesting point comes up towards the end of the dialogue:

“The Union is bucking De Armitt. They leave us alone; in fact, they are on our side,” says Mr. Operator.

Why the Union should fight De Armitt to the exclusion of the other operators is the big interrogation point that sticks out all over the Penna coal mining situation.

These are our immediate demands, to them we pledge our support. And we call on the voters of Adams to aid in carrying them into effect.

The Socialist Labor party never compromises truth to make a friend, never withholds a blow at error lest it make an enemy. In firm assurance of final victory, it pursues its course unswerved by desire for temporary advantage. It is ever outspoken and straightforward, believing that in fearless independence the integrity of purpose by which it is inspired, will, in the end, win the respect and confidence of those whom it aims to weld into a class-conscious, aggressive body. Its propaganda is not alone to educate; it is to organize the working class for the conquest of power, for the complete overthrow of capitalism. Until that mission is accomplished, it will stand firm as a rock, yet alert and watchful, yielding nothing.

1st.—True to their pure and simple middle-class tendencies, they help the little parasitical capitalist, believing that there is a bond of friendship between them; not knowing that just because of his position he is the most relentless exploiter.

2nd.—Just as De Armitt despises the

ADAMS, MASS.

Enters the Municipal Field and Issues its Proclamation.

The Socialist Labor party of Adams, confirming to the demands of the national organization and harmonizing with the emancipation movement of the world, whereby finally, through political and legal means, the present state of overproduction, industrial cannibalism and social disorder is to be substituted by the Co-operative Commonwealth, and all means of production and distribution shall be owned collectively and operated scientifically by the people, presents the following declarations for the municipal campaign of 1899:

1. The town shall establish a coal and wood yard, which shall supply the people with fuel at cost price.

2. We demand the establishment of a town pharmacy where pure medicine can be had at minimum cost, or free when necessary.

3. Prohibition of female labor under conditions detrimental to health or morality.

4. Since we deem those who suffer in the field of productive labor just as worthy of regard as those who suffer on the field of battle, we demand that a special fund be established for the payment of pensions to sick, aged and disabled workingmen.

5. The free use of public halls and public buildings for free public discussion without discrimination.

6. The benefits of the public school system to be made accessible to all by supplying, where necessary, free clothing and meals to pupils, without inflicting the stigma of pauperism.

7. The town to own its own electric and gas plants.

8. The abolition of contract labor, all town work to be given directly by the town without the intervention of contractors or middle men, the workmen to elect their own superior officers; that eight hours shall constitute a legal work day; that all work done for the town be paid for at full or union wages, in no case less than \$2 a day, and that all materials used be bought from firms employing union labor.

These are our immediate demands, to them we pledge our support. And we call on the voters of Adams to aid in carrying them into effect.

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When the modern State nationalizes certain industries it does not do so for the purpose of restricting capitalist exploitation, but for the sole purpose of protecting the capitalist system and establishing it upon a firmer basis; or for the purpose of itself taking a hand in the exploitation of labor, increasing

STATE SOCIALISM.

Democratic Socialism the Aim of the Socialist Movement.

The economic activity of the modern State is the natural starting point of that development that leads up to the Socialist or Co-operative Commonwealth.

It does not, however, follow, that every nationalization of an economic function or of an industry is a step towards the Socialist Commonwealth, and that the latter could be the result of a general nationalization of all industries without having to change the character of the State.

The theory that this could be the case is that of the STATE SOCIALISTS. It arises from a misapprehension of the State itself. The same as all previous systems of Government, the modern State is pre-eminently an implement intended to guard the interests of the ruling class. This feature is in no wise changed by its assumption of functions of general utility, and effecting the interests, not of the ruling class alone, but of the whole body politic.

The modern State will assume these functions quite often, simply because otherwise the interests of the ruling class would be endangered, but under no circumstances has it assumed, or could it ever, assume these functions in such manner as to endanger the overlordship of the capitalist class. Of this fact a remarkable illustration has been recently furnished by the official declarations of the People's party—a party called into being by the property holding class of small Western farmers, whom large capitalist production is submerging. The platform adopted at Omaha is very explicit on all the points that concern the economic interests of that class: the only demands that are not self-evidently and inherently reactionary, are those that call for the national ownership of the means of communication and transportation; but, that these demands are made in the interest, not of the working class, appears from two facts: first, the conspicuous absence from the platform of all provision to improve the condition of the workers in those industries—such as higher earnings and shorter hours; and, second, the insertion of some recommendations looking in that direction, together with many other trivial ones. AFTER the platform and UNDER the following very significant introductory clause: “Whereas other questions have been presented for our consideration, we hereby submit the following NOT AS A PART OF THE PLATFORM OF THE PEOPLE'S PARTY.” And, furthermore, still more recently, a Boston Nationalist Club, consisting mainly of middle class people, issues a petition, likewise for the national ownership of the means of communication, transportation, etc., but wholly omits all provisions looking to the improvement of the conditions of the workers therein. In the one case as in the other, the capitalist functions which the State is asked to assume are instinctively, if not purposely, asked to be assumed in a manner that would not endanger the overlordship of the capitalist class.

The Socialist Labor party on the contrary does not build upon hopes and promises, but upon the unalterable dictates of the economic development.

Whoever understands this development must accept the aims of the party. Whoever declares these aims to be false should show in what respect the teachings of Socialist political economy are false; he should show that the theory of the development from small to large production is false; that production is carried on to-day in the United States the same as it was carried on a hundred years ago; he must show that things are to-day as they have always been.

All other political parties live only in the present, and from hand to mouth; the Socialist Labor party is the only one that has a tangible aim before it, and which steers its present course by the light of that great aim.

All other parties, neither will nor can realize this aim; only

THE PEOPLE.

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SOCIALIST VOTE IN THE UNITED STATES.

In 1888 (Presidential).....	2,000
In 1890.....	10,000
In 1892 (Presidential).....	21,157
In 1894.....	28,122
In 1896 (Presidential).....	30,564
In 1897.....	55,673

There are two freedoms: The false freedom, where a man can do what he likes; and the true freedom, where he can do what he ought.

CHARLES KINGSLEY.

SMASH THAT TREATY, AND THE CLASS THAT IS WRANGLING ABOUT IT.

The Senate is convulsed by the question whether the Treaty of Peace should be ratified or not, and the ostensible issue between the two sets of disputants is whether the annexation of the Philippines will redound to our national glory or not; whether or not it is our national duty to "carry civilization to the Filipinos" or to leave them in their benighted condition.

Whether or not the Filipinos are in a benighted condition is little to the purpose; the only question that concerns the intelligent American is whether the floods of material wealth and the floods of that greater wealth, the health and life of thousands of our proletariat, is not needed right here at home; whether we have reached that point that we have a surplus of material and human wealth to squander abroad, or whether all the material and human wealth we can raise is not required right here, with nothing yet to spare, in order to blot out the social iniquities we ourselves are cursed with, and that render our external splendor, not a thing to be admired but a thing to be condemned as a whitened sepulchre.

This question is answered by the recent discovery of the existence of chattel slavery in its most iniquitous form, as a punishment, even to women, old women at that, for the capitalist imposed "crime" of poverty. The following story tells its own tale.

Elmira Quick, aged seventy-five, is going to try to live on sixteen cents a day. Elmira Quick is a Pike County, Pa., pauper, living near Baaba. She lost her son, who was her sole support, in the Civil War, and ever since has just managed to eke out an existence. How the old woman will manage to keep alive from now on is best told in her own words:

"I have figured it all out, and I can get along very nicely. It is the first time anything of the kind has been tried in Pike County. You know the law here provides that once a year all persons supported by the town be sold to the lowest bidder, the bidder to supply food and clothing, while the town provides medical attendance and funeral expenses in case of death."

"I have been in trouble with the Overseers of the Poor, and that led to my being advertised for sale last December. The bids were to be sent to W. K. Rutan, in Rowells. I sent a bid of \$5 per month to Overseer Rosenkrans and also to Auditor Brown. This was the lowest bid, and the authorities had to accept it."

"I am allowed to stay here, and instead of paying the \$5 in cash, as they would to other bidders, they give it to me in groceries. This is just the same as cash to me."

"This house I live in is owned by Mr. Simonson, and he lets me stay here for helping his wife occasionally. My meat bill for the last month was only \$1.00, and on this saving I had enough to buy cash. Then in the spring I get a pig for little or nothing, and have one of the neighbors fat on shares. This gives me a good deal of meat to last through the winter."

"There is a little patch of ground adjoining the cottage and this I work on shares. It furnishes enough vegetables to last me nearly a year. Then in the summer time I make a little extra money picking buckwheat."

"I used to get something for weaving carpets until my shoulder gave out. I have applied for a pension on the death of my son, always said I would never accept a cent of the pension, but he may be dead, but things have reached a point where it is necessary. If I get the pension I can get along nicely, but if I don't I will manage to exist without going into slavery."

"I may be sold again next spring when the annual sale of the poor occurs. But, I don't care so much about the matter for me. They say that this law is unconstitutional, that slavery was abolished with the war of the rebellion, and that the authorities can be prosecuted for slave dealing if they attempt to auction me off. The case has never been tested, but it will next March if the attempt is made on me."

Thus we here find an old woman, whose son, her only support, died in the Civil War to preserve the Union a pauper and slave in the land where the Money Rags stayed behind, let others fight, bleed and die, and themselves now derive all the profit of such sacrifice. Thus we find an aged matron, who wove her life tissue into carpets for a pittance, and now after "her shoulder gave out" has only slavery as her portion while the robber class of capitalists, whose shoulders never gave out in work, are lolling in idle luxury. Thus, finally, we see before us a venerable woman, entitled to the repose of her age and the dignity of her sex; she—an heir to all the splendid achievements of the human efforts of past generations; she—a member of the nation whose ruling class would carry civilization across the oceans; she—brought down by long privations to the point that she can "get along nicely" with the Chinese

condition of 16 cents a day, and to enjoy such a boon of capitalist civilization had to undergo the humiliation of being sold at auction!

And the class, whose social system can thus blight our own people and nation propose to civilize others?

Preposterous insult to the human understanding!

GLORY COMES DEAR TO THE WORKERS.

The proudest men who trod the earth last Monday were the men of the 69th New York Regiment. They arrived in the city from the South and were given an ovation. As they marched up Broadway, thick crowds lined the street cheering and hurraying, while the cannon on City Hall Square was kept booming a long salute. The men looked as if they were treading on an enchanted ground: Ethan Allan's dashing boys of the Revolution, Leonidas' Spartan band could not have looked happier than did these men, inflated as they were with the outward trappings of glory. To-day all that has changed: no more despondent tramps prowl through the city than these same snorting warriors of two days ago, all the more despondent as they feel cheated.

What is it that has happened?

The outward theory upon which these men enlisted was "self-sacrifice"; they were ready, to fight not only, but also to bleed for the freedom of humanity and the glory of the country. That was alright enough as a screen, a decent screen for the real facts. Out-of-work and with small chances of improvement, these men went to the front. The sold they were to receive was the real motive. But even the level-headed man who sees to his material comfort will not always refuse to spend something for show for his own glorification, provided that something be not too much. That is the way last Monday's parade was presented to the men of the 69th Regiment: in order to enjoy the glories of the parade they would have to be mustered out earlier, losing, of course, some pay. How much? They were told by their Colonel, a worthy named Duffy, that \$5 would be the most they could forfeit. That surely was not much; \$5 out of a prospective \$60 pay at musterings out was considered a cheap price for hurrahs, salvos of artillery and pageantry in which the payor is himself the chief attraction. The men consented; the parade took place and all that thereby hung; and the men were yesterday mustered out with only \$30 pay!

The pageantry of Monday cost these men dear. They now realize they were thoroughly duped. Their Colonel, the man Duffy, managed to make himself especially the recipient of the biggest part of the ovation, and, instead of paying his share, he took that with a vengeance out of the hides of his "gallant soldier boys." He is not to be mustered out; he loses not a cent; but the men have to pay the piper; the statement to them that they would lose only \$5 was a swindle to our age them to decide for the parade. The real worker again has had to foot the bill.

In the midst of the embalmed meat and other swindles this Duffy scandal comes opportunely. From start to finish, and every step the recent war was but a scheme for the intensified exploitation of the working class; it was conceived in swindle and carried out by swindle. So far from us having redounded to our national glory, it has only added an other blot to the many already thrown upon it by our ruling class, and all of which it will be the mission of the working class to wipe out.

POLITICAL and ECONOMIC.

An article by Prof. Sidney H. Short in the "Cosmopolitan" on the substitution of electricity for steam as a motive power suggests a variety of interesting points. He says:

If the next fifteen years witness as wonderful progress in electrical science as the past fifteen years have recorded, electricity will supersede steam as the motive power for even our transcontinental railroads. The time between New York and Chicago will be reduced to ten hours, and the conditions of our business and social life will readjust themselves to a standard of 125 miles an hour instead of 40.

That such an industrial revolution is quite probable within the next fifteen years none will deny. But say the revolution in motive power does not reach quite that far within that time, it certainly will reach quite far within that time, and it will be fully accomplished later. What about the 40,000 miners in that case?

The recent series of articles "Tragedy Pages," which close with this issue, help to answer the question, and bring out the point.

There we have a large body of men kept in ignorance of the fate that awaits them; told to be practical by doing something NOW for themselves, thereby kept from doing the only really practical thing—voting themselves into power, and thus put themselves into a position where, what now threatens to be a deadly storm, can be turned into a blessing—there we have these men with blinkers clapped to their eyes and thus led quietly on by the Labor Fakir.

Thereupon, the Cleveland, O., "Citizen" of the 21st of the same month reproduces the answer in full, and submits the following criticism:

This statement is ridiculous. No politician is such a fool as to pay monthly per capita tax to the Federation, and merely to cast a large vote once a year for some tool, and where this may occur in an isolated case it is also a notorious fact, on the other hand, that some of the large national do not pay tax on their full membership, just as their locals as a rule do not make returns on their entire membership.

The A. F. of L. undoubtedly stands still, and a committee of the entire membership in the last five years, whose number is still in excess of THE PEOPLE's estimate. We don't believe that anything can be gained by bluffing on either side.

Again, Prof. Short says:

The chief obstacle to the change from steam to electricity lies in the expense entailed by abandoning the old team locomotives, and replacing them with electric in their stead. There are to-day in service on the railroads of this country 30,000 steam locomotives, at an average cost of \$10,000 each, making \$300,000,000 of capital. It is impossible to conceive of the sale of \$300,000,000 worth of machinery as "scrap iron." To convert them into motors, if that were possible, would require a sum of money equal to the cost of the electrical installation along the lines of existing railways, would cost a sum so large as to be prohibitive. The cost to the Pennsylvania Railroad alone, for this transformation would be fully \$10,000,000.

Why "impossible to conceive of the sale of \$300,000,000 of machinery as scrap iron"? Why would the cost of a conversion of motors be "prohibitive"? Simply and alone because these machines are now owned capitalistically. Because, under such ownership, they, the products of society, stolen from society by their present owners, the capitalist class, are not allowed to perform the public and social function that is in them to perform; they are to perform private functions only for the benefit of private concerns alone.

Under a rational social system, the machine, that can not render to society the higher service that a newer and better machine can, is obsolete, would be treated, looked upon as such, and, to the immense profit of society, would be treated as "scrap iron." The convenience, the comfort, the advantage, the social labor saved, and thereby the time gained for intellectual elevation would be worth and is worth to society many thousand times \$300,000,000. Under the present irrational and buccaneer social system, the Vanderbilt motto: "The public be damned," is the social motto; the only thing that is considered is the private interests of the capitalist class; and, no doubt, the Duchesses Consuelo would be the looser for a while if all that machinery were now treated as "scrap iron"; the changes made must be made in such gradual manner as will bring no inconvenience to such worthies; only the working class' convenience need never be consulted.

In the scramble that is going on in New York among the Labor Fakirs for jobs as a "recognition" of Labor some truths are being told to one another by these gentlemen.

So, for instance, the New York "Printer," having a bushel of candidates for Factory Inspectors and a certain disreputable labor misleader, Harry White, who is kept alive by the "check-off" system of paying dues in the Garment Workers, are together by the ears. These gentlemen may well be quoted against each other:

As to the second point, the "Citizen" starts by calling it "ridiculous"; it proceeds then to emphasize its judgement by the emphatic assertion that "no politician is such a fool as to pay monthly per capita tax," etc.; and then? What then? It IMMEDIATELY goes on to say that "where this may occur it is an isolated case," etc. Thus: a thing DOES NOT occur, and yet it MAY OCCUR; thus NO ONE is such a fool as to do a certain thing, and yet there MAY BE fools as to do that same thing.—What sort of reasoning is this? The reverse of bluffing?

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THE PEOPLE has chapter and verse for every thing it utters editorially; it neither bluffs, nor allows itself to be bluffed; least of all does it ever allow itself to be carried off its feet into postures that denote a cross between bluffer and bluftee.

The San Francisco, Cal., "Class Struggle" says with justified severity:

We can stand the rich plutocrat, for he usually does what experience has taught us to expect him to do. But the poor without property, either without or with a decent living, whose wife is a slave, whose daughters by poverty are made candidates for prostitution and his sons for vagabondage and crime; who must go with her in hand and beg a chance to serve; who fawns and scrawls before his master, echoes his sentiments and votes his ticket on election day, and abuses those who try to emancipate him, should be fished into wakefulness and out of the betrayal of his class.

Our complaisant friend, the London, Eng., "Labor Leader," publishes this bit of news:

Haverhill, Mass. U. S. A. has done even better than Boston. It reported no fewer than nine Socialists elected to the State legislature, all of whom were elected without a "decent living," whose wife is a slave, whose daughters by poverty are made candidates for prostitution and his sons for vagabondage and crime; who must go with her in hand and beg a chance to serve; who fawns and scrawls before his master, echoes his sentiments and votes his ticket on election day, and abuses those who try to emancipate him, should be fished into wakefulness and out of the betrayal of his class.

But who will vouch for the "bona fides" of Herbert Casson?

The Minneapolis, Minn., "Tocsin" is camping on the trail of the fakirs. Grabbing one of them by the hair it gives him this lashings:

The "Union Advocate," a fake "labor paper of the worst sort, published in St. Paul, hopes that the shotgun policy in the South will be continued unless the "illiterate and poverty-stricken niggers" submit to the rule of white Democrats. This is quite character. The "Advocate" is made very uncomfortable by the growth of the Socialist labor party, which proclaims the right of the working class, regardless of race or color, and which threatens the success of leg-pullers, skates, and political roustabouts in the labor movement.

B. J.—And doesn't Tobin cover that last point too, only in his way?

U. S.—NO! Tobin's conduct is at variance with the last point, and therefore he is untrue to the other two. It is not acting up to his understanding of the first two points when he seeks to organize shoeworkers' unions with the aid of men whom he knows to be disreputable fakirs; when he sits on the platform and hears such fakirs advance the most damnable fakirism, dues-grabbing, swindling, class struggle-denying arguments on the wages question, and when he rises to speak right after such fellows has not a word of contradiction and rectification to make. Such conduct is the endorsement of anti-Socialism.

B. J.—Has he done that?

U. S.—Yes, right here, in New York and elsewhere. Again, it is not acting up to his understanding of the first two points when he heralds as labor political victory such a capitalist victory as the late municipal election of Marlboro was; it was a belying of his understanding of points one and two when he thus seeks to aid along the swindling political practices of capitalist politicians and labor fakirs, and thereby obscures the class struggle principle and its manly course so necessary for the emancipation of the workers.

B. J.—Looks dumbfounded.

U. S.—Finally it is a belying of his knowledge on points one and two of his own conscience when he tries to defame the S. L. P. that he knows is true to all the three points, but the upholding of which is unprofitable to him.

In short it is not the conduct of a Socialist to play the Judas act: sell out the working class.

B. J.—remains silent.

A criticism that heralds itself with such trumpet blasts as "ridiculous," and that closes with such oracular admonitions against "bluffing" and in favor of "facts" should surely be replete with sense and bursting with information. Is it? Just the reverse.

Two are the points made in THE PEOPLE'S Letter Box answer:

1st. That gauged by its present method of voting (1 vote for 100 per capita, while central bodies, federal unions, etc., having each 1 vote), the Federation would have about 250,000 members; and

2nd. That the membership of the A. F. of L. is padded, the per capita on which the voting is done being frequently paid on a membership that does not exist, the money being frequently furnished by bosses and politicians.

How does the "Citizen" refute these two points, the refutation of which it considers important enough to initiate a discussion on in such terms as it does?

As to the first, the "Citizen," while admitting that the A. F. of L. has lost membership in the last five years, denies the correctness of THE PEOPLE'S estimate, and contents itself with the simple, bald declaration that the membership of the A. F. of L. "is still in excess of THE PEOPLE'S estimate"; in other words, while invoking facts, and frowning down bluffs, the "Citizen" gives not one single fact in substantiation of its view. THE PEOPLE stated, in this its first point, by what process it arrived at its estimate, to wit, the vote cast at the Kansas City convention, and it gave the total figures—250,000; the "Citizen" leaves its readers in the dark upon the process by which it arrives at a different conclusion; and, left, factless, its readers can not judge even as to the size of the discrepancy, if there be any, and thus judge as to whether a correction was at all worth while making; they are given nothing but a bald assertion. What sort of conduct is this? The reverse of bluffing?

As to the second point, the "Citizen" starts by calling it "ridiculous"; it proceeds then to emphasize its judgement by the emphatic assertion that "no politician is such a fool as to pay monthly per capita tax," etc.; and then?

A REJECTED LETTER.

The Capitalist Editor of the Richmond "Times" Fears Publication of Matter that will Enlighten.

"Times," Richmond, Va.

Sir.—In the Sunday issue of your paper, Jan. 8, 1899, appears an editorial under the following heading: "The Remedy for Oppression," based on some words uttered by Dr. David Starr Jordan, in his address at the inauguration of Dr. Greaves as President of the University of the State of Washington.

In regard to Dr. Jordan I would state the fact, that he is very well known to Socialists everywhere in the United States by reputation, and that he is particularly familiar to the Socialists of the State of California. I expect he is sore all over now, from the drubbing which he got from our Comrade Job Harriman, who was our candidate for Governor of California on the Socialist Labor party ticket in 1898. Some time ago Dr. Jordan was desirous of demonstrating to the student body at Stanford University that Socialism was impossible and altogether wrong; in order to show his ability to do so Comrade Harriman was invited to take part in a joint discussion with the Doctor. The students were out "en masse," filled with the expectation of an evening's enjoyment, as the Doctor had invited them to come and watch him make the Socialist fur fly. Well, they came, and they had their fun, but it came from a different source than that expected by them, viz., from the utter confusion and rout of the Dr. under the logical broadsides of Comrade Harriman.

The Dr., driven from pillar to post, was forced to assume the defensive, and in doing so stooped to such quibbling questions as, "Would Socialism not destroy the incentive to progress?" or, "Who would do the scavenger work?" Also poor Yorick, it is always thus, when our capitalist apologists run foul of a clear-cut Socialist.

POINT I.

There is truth in this utterance of the Doctor which you quote, viz., "The remedy for oppression is to bring in men who cannot be oppressed." If, however, the Doctor stated how you failed to reproduce it, therefore ask how is he going to bring in that class of men? by keeping them in ignorance of the truth as it is, or by enlightening them; Socialists claim that knowledge is strength and will eventually lead to freedom; whereas ignorance is weakness and is conducive to and will tend to total enslavement.

Therefore we educate the people up to the knowledge of the true position which they occupy, (i. e., the wage slave part of the people). We tell them that they create all the wealth and receive a mere pittance, that they are no longer independent workmen, but slaves; that they are only a mere commodity, goods and chattels for the idle masters, the capitalist class, to deal in and make profits by.

POINT II.

The Doctor says further that "to bring in men which cannot be oppressed, is the remedy our fathers sought and we shall find no other." True, again, and yet, the Doctor would not advocate such methods as our fathers used; if he considered for a moment that they used force to right their wrongs, and had a short shrift and a long rope for all oppressors or their sympathizers. Should the people in their dense ignorance of things as they are, driven to despair by privations and hunger, deeming the capitalist class (and not the system under which we live) the cause of all their woes, should they in their benighted state follow the advice given by the Doctor and imitate their fore-fathers in their struggle for freedom, what then? I am very much afraid that a dreadful terror would seize upon the hearts of the Doctor and his clan, and not only on them, but upon the hearts of every intellectual prostitute also, who are now so ready and willing to take upologies; for the present hellish system of capitalist tyranny and oppression. You see, the people aroused right in their blind fury forget that those fakirs had told them that they were their friends!!!

POINT III.

Again the Oracle speaks. The Doctor says "The problem of life is, not to make life easier, but to make men stronger, so that no problem shall be beyond their solution." Honest Indian, Mr. Editor, do you think the Doctor was serious when he made that assertion? Do you, or the Doctor believe that anyone desires to work any harder than he is compelled to in order to enjoy life or gratify ambition? Can you think for a moment that anyone, if the choice were between him of working down in a city over, among slush and wet, his system poisoned by the fumes of the foul gas, which he inhales while at work, while for such work he receives in wages the paltry sum of 75 cents per diem, or the other, that of hours work each day at pleasant mental labor, either mental or physical? Just enough labor to keep the mind and body healthy, the balance of time at his own disposal, to use and enjoy according to the peculiar taste of each, and that for such labor deserved by them they would receive a sum enough to gratify every desire in man, i. e., for food, clothing, and shelter. Come now, which would you choose?

According to the Doctor's idea of the problem of life, everybody ought to be pulling over each other in their effort to catch the lowest and most foulsome place of the sewer. And as you, Mr. Editor, so heartily endorse the Doctor's idea, it would not be anything of a surprise to me, if, on making my way up Fifth street, Richmond, I should find myself revelling among those who have been found there, shouting out with jocund sound thanks and praise to your great and good God, for you love so well (?) praising me that the opportunity had been readily afforded you of solving

the great problem of life. My stars, how that great host of idle parasites, our doctors, pupiters and professors, our Vanderbilts, Astors, and Goulds, our bogus Countesses Castellane, De Champs, etc., would envy you; how they would struggle for a place beside you, so that they, like you, could solve the great problem of life by hard work. How cruel and ungrateful are the wageworkers, on whom their masters—the capitalist class—have conferred the exceeding great honor of solving the problem of life, by hard work! I am sure, Mr. Editor, that if the problem of life is not to make life easier, and he who will not work shall receive the full reward of his industry—NOTHING—not even charity; unless he is physically or mentally disabled, of which we will have to be very well assured. Then no honest person would be degraded by the giving or receiving of alms.

But, while you are perfectly willing to dole out charity to those whom you term poor unfortunate, yet you think it is an imposition that one man should be taxed to support another man who is equally able to work. Socialists have been preaching that doctrine for a long time, therefore we say Amen to that. We claim that it is not only an imposition, but a heinous crime also, that the wealth-creating workers should have been forced for many centuries to labor long and arduously in order to support in rotten idleness an aristocratic or capitalist class of able-bodied loafers, with their long train of lackeys and menials, from the pulpit down to the so-called public press.

I would like to ask you what provision you made for those able-bodied printers whom you dumped on the sidewalk when you introduced the typesetting machines into your office. I suppose competition regulated matters after awhile, that although they suffered somewhat at first, yet, as every thing finds its own level, so would the displaced printers find their's somewhere also. Thus reasons those capitalistic apologists, the Mills, Forrester, McCulloch, etc., in which school, judging from your knowledge of the science of economics and government (as set forth in some of your recent editorials), you must have studied.

It is a fact of history that the savage man was physically the superior of the civilized man; therefore, I infer, that the Doctor had that in mind when he stated that "the problem of life is, not to make life easier, but to make men stronger, that no problem shall be beyond their solution." He must have meant, that he could not have meant stronger intellectually, because the growth of the intellect has produced the means which, if properly used, would upset his theory of hard work, viz., the modern gigantic machinery of production. Likewise must he be opposed to Socialism, which still further enters to the intellect of man, by pointing the way to the proper use of the fruits of his brain, the machine, i. e., by showing that he must own and operate them collectively for the benefit of all.

By strength, the Doctor must have meant physical, because mentally strong people, especially among the workers, have a tendency towards resisting oppression, and are therefore troublesome. They have a nasty habit of arguing the point of examining the medicine prescribed for them (by those quacks which abound everywhere), before swallowing it. Which attitude on the part of the masses would somehow disturb the minds of our intellectual fakirs, who have always an axe to grind. I expect, therefore, that the Doctor wished to say that physical strength was the "in plus ultra" for the masses, and you, Mr. Editor, echoed it as fate. Allah is good, and the Doctor is his prophet. Strong, brainless wage slaves to do the work, and brainy (save the mark) professors, editors and capitalists to live of their labor.

PUBLIC CHARITIES.

Mr. Editor, I would not have been guilty of such an act of folly as that of wasting time on the professor's little childish prattle, which seems to please you as genuinely as my little girl's doll does her, and for the same reasons (lack of more mature sense) I doubt not. I would have passed it over but for your comments on the Doctor's forceful, conclusive reply (as you term it) to the modern doctrine of Populism and Socialism. You take for your text a portion of the platform on which the Doctor and imitate their fore-fathers in their struggle for freedom, what then? I am very much afraid that a dreadful terror would seize upon the hearts of the Doctor and his clan, and not only on them, but upon the hearts of every intellectual prostitute also, who are now so ready and willing to take upologies; for the present hellish system of capitalist tyranny and oppression. You see, the people aroused right in their blind fury forget that those fakirs had told them that they were their friends!!!

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THE PEOPLE, SUNDAY, FEB. 5, 1899.

CORRESPONDENCE.

[Correspondents who prefer to appear in print under an assumed name, will attach such name to their communication, besides their own signature and address. None other will be recognized.]

That First Haverhill Appointed.

To THE PEOPLE.—I wish to supplement the statement that appears in THE PEOPLE's Letter Box of the 15th instant, on the first appointment made by our "S. PEOPLE—SEVEN"

"S. PEOPLE—SEVEN" Mayor, by giving a short sketch of the biography, politically and otherwise, of

Bracewell W. Davis, who was recently made Mayor's Clerk by John C. Chase, was first appointed in that capacity by the late Mayor Benjamin F. Bruckett, in 1895.

Prior to that time he was the Private Secretary of one "Pete" Morse, who was engaged in some business, or other, in West Haverhill, Mass., then Morse was one of the most notorious politicians in this city ever held. His reign was abruptly terminated by the city taking the local water plant which in the palmy days of Morse was owned by a few local capitalists.

Shortly after losing his political power, Morse went to the wall financially. At about the time Bruckett was elected Mayor, the friend of Morse, the latter fixed up the job to make Davis Mayor's Clerk as he was then one of the "unemployed." Bruckett was again chosen Mayor in 1897, and Davis was re-appointed. The Mayor died when in office a few months. Then E. H. Moulton, a Democrat and capitalist, was elected in 1898. Moulton declined to run at the end of the year for another term and Daniel S. Chase was elected as a "Good Government" candidate, in reality a Democrat. He followed in the footsteps of Bruckett and Moulton and Davis is once more here. John C. Chase, the "S. People's" capitalist, was appointed this time, and he again appointed Davis, who seems to be a child of perpetual political youth, as far as that particular job is concerned.

As to other biographic features of the man, his father was a shoe manufacturer, now retired. The boy Brackett, when he grew up, married the daughter of one of the leading shoe manufacturers in the list of local shoe manufacturers. Davis then went

West when he came back to Haverhill, after the downfall of Morse, an uncle of his wife who is also a leading shoe manufacturer, and a Democrat, with Morse helped to land him in City Hall.

The job is \$1,200 a year. Every Mayor, who has hitherto made Davis his Clerk, was by universal acclamation a political rascal. This is the first appointee of Haverhill's "Socialist" Mayor. W. T. BERRY.

Haverhill, Jan. 17.

As to Expressions.

To THE PEOPLE.—I wish to draw your attention to an expression in the pamphlet "Why American Workingmen Should Be Socialists." The expression referred to is "such blood-seeking advocates." Now we are those who advocate universal brotherhood, consistently with our acknowledged brothers by such call, and then invite them to act conscientiously and help the Socialist Movement. I hold that we can't, and what's more, if we are to have a PEACEFUL revolution, such term must NOT BE USED. For instant, suppose we had to call you a "hard—rugged and a thief, and then turn round and ask you to help me on with my coat, would you or would you not avail yourself of the opportunity to introduce your shoemaker to my tailor? I think you would be a fool if you didn't. Now I should like to get the opinion of other S. L. P. members on this question as I think it is of vital importance in regards the joining of the Socialist forces over the country.

JAS. N. BOULT.

Vancouver, B. C., Jan. 18.

[Thinking it far more profitable that the answer and answers to so unique an expression of opinion as the above letter be left to the other comrades, we shall not ourselves comment upon it—least not at this stage: we give the right of way to other party members, Canadian especially, who may feel inclined to undertake the work of clarifying our correspondent.—ED. THE PEOPLE.]

Forecast from South Dakota.

To THE PEOPLE.—You must have patience with us in South Dakota, class—labor, race—class—privilege. All we have here is one of the California plows that will plow 50 acres a day.

People are slow to escape from the meshes of traditional thought, yet Aberdeen will have a Section shortly; I think the time has come.

The Pope has beaten everywhere in the state by the Heaps this last fall, leaving only the Governor. This is the best thing that could happen. Now the air is cleared of a great deal of dust.

The Socialists have always been the life of the Pop party in this State, and now the poor Pop says: "Oh, you fellows have been right from the start, and it is time for the Pope to take up."

You will hear from us shortly.

Down with the capitalist pig.

—PIONEER, Aberdeen, So. Dak., Jan. 20.

Reproduced with Blushes of Modesty.

To THE PEOPLE.—I think I am absolutely safe in saying that THE PEOPLE is the only means that saves us from complete dissolution as a party. This certainly was the case when the (fraudulent) Social Democracy crashed, as also when the "Appeal to Reason" made its fraudulent and disastrous attack upon the workingmen. They are dead thanks to THE PEOPLE.

THE PEOPLE commends itself to me because:

1st. It fights our enemies.

2nd. It plumbs the cause of those who need a defender, and that is the whole human race.

3rd. It mercilessly exposes the enemies of the poor and oppressed producers—that is, the labor fakirs.

4th. It gives no quarter to wrong against the producer, none whatever.

5th. Its motto (and practice is in accord therewith) is the unconditional surrender of Capitalism.

The PEOPLE now better than when I first began to read it (several years ago), hence this must be some tangible evidence that THE PEOPLE (at cost) holds its own.

Extending to you the compliments of the season, and hoping that our new year may bring us many new followers, rather comrades, I remain,

LUKE D. BECHTEL.

Los Angeles, Jan. 20.

Mormonism.

To THE PEOPLE.—The capitalistic newspapers are now engaged in a "vituperative" outcry against Mormonism, as a result of the election of the Mormon Roberts to the House of Representatives. "The House must not be defiled," etc. etc. Surely, corruption ought not to creep into the country with such faithful (?) watch-dogs guarding the national door.

Are not Mormonism and the "free, unimpeded" two twin rotted pears from the same tree? the capitalistic, surplus-value absorbing tree?

Here are two frogs born of the same slime attacking each other. The Socialist attacks them both.

Robertson says he will not "desert" his wife, this, presumably, because they have a child together.

What a mockery! One woman must consent to share a man with other women in order to keep from want. Do not be deceived. This is the real question. Stay single and get at best a precarious living; be "senled" to some rich man and be free from physical wants; this is the question which confronts the Mormon women. Does he consent to be a trouble? Does he heart contract in jealous pain at the thought of being alone, while HER husband is with another? These thoughts and feelings are stifled with this web blanket.

How well it is my "religion."

How well, think you, she would tolerate a religion which assured an income quite

to that of the man she calls husband, a short honest day's service rendered to the Government—the nation?

These Mormon "elders" taking shelter

behind what they are pleased to call "religion," tell the women that a plurality of wives is just. Should the women but sug-

gest that what is good for the ganders should not do the geese no harm and let her choose a plainer one of "thee" would be nothing less than "damnable sin."

Let the class-conscious men and women tear this foul-fruited tree of capitalist and pro-Mormonism up by the roots, by voting the Socialist Labor party's ticket straight.

In the States where women cannot vote, women can agitate.

With the "hand" of production (land and machinery), and distribution (railways, steamship lines and stores) owned and controlled by the whole people (Socialism) instead of, as now, being worked collectively and owned individually—a venture that Mormonism and its counterpart, capitalist plutocracy, would shrivel and die, as the rotting pear does when the tree that bore it is uprooted.

—ARCHIE JARROLD.

Brooklyn, N. Y., Jan. 20.

Interesting News from Latrobe, Pa.

To THE PEOPLE.—The members of the Latrobe Section have started in with new vigor since New Year. We are but a handful, yet determined to get a hold of the important movements thrown in our way by the foe.

Once more did we bring home to the capitalists, and the bourgeois of Latrobe generally, the fact that we are on deck, whereupon more than one of them made long faces at the sight of the posters announcing the meeting for the 10th instant. The meeting was to speak for the Socialist Labor party. The meeting took place on the 10th instant. It was attended by a large crowd anxious to hear the Gospel of Socialism. Hickey "took" so well that, at the close of the meeting, even the policeman present gave a subscription for THE PEOPLE. No doubt the meeting followed up by PEOPLES will have its effect.

Noteworthy is the recent discharge of a driver from one of our local mines. He was charged with being the cause of the death of a donkey that he was driving. It so happens, however, that at the same mine an identical company three men were killed last summer, and one was crippled for life, all as the result of the negligence of the Fire Boss and the Watchman. But these victims were only workingmen and not a donkey; consequently, the guilty parties have remained undisturbed at their jobs. Instances like this should furnish the capitalist for the fusion of the S. L. P. and the S. D. P. to accept the name of the S. D. P.

The S. D. P. to accept the name of the S. D. P. is the above I believe to be the only solution of the fusion question. The Debts have no principle to sacrifice, and would be much

REJECTED LETTER.

(Continued from page 2.)

extinct among the wage slaves if this capitalist system holds out very much longer.

Manhood! Where was the manhood of the Roman people when the Huns and Vandals under Attila and Genseric overrun and subjugated that once proud race? Why could those people (who had held those savages in supreme contempt) no longer repulse those hordes? Why? Because their strength mental, physical and financial had been sapped and destroyed by their own rulers, the Patricians, who wasted the energies of themselves and the plebeians, in the riotous and voluptuous life of the Metropolis, and when Rome fell, 1,800 people owned the known world, and the rest of her teeming millions were in a state of the most abject slavery to those few. What cares the slave for the country which enslaves him, even though it may be the place of his nativity? All the nobility of his nature having been ground out of him by rent, profit and interest, what is left of him, but the brute, who, when inflamed by hunger, would perhaps more readily rend his master than his master's enemy. Have we not, also, got near the perilous point, when our statisticians tell us that wages are failing, the army of the unemployed is swelling rapidly, thanks to machinery, concentration of capital and their agencies, and where about 2 per cent. of the families in the United States virtually own all the wealth, and by reason thereof about 98 per cent. are disinherited and are only living here subject to the approval of the 2 per cent. who own everything, even to the lives of the 98 per cent?

Manhood! What bitter irony for you to ask that crawling wage slave to assert it under your system, when he knows that if he does so in the workshop or the factory, as an individual, he will starve.

No Socialists have a hard row to hoe in order that they may rekindle in the breasts of the wage slaves the spirit of 1776, and thus enable them to rise in their might and wipe this present system out of existence at the ballot box before the capitalist class shall have by the scourge of hunger instigated a reign of terror and bloodshed.

Mr. Editor, you ought not to be alarmed at the paternalism of Socialism, as you term it. We have to-day a beautiful example of a paternal Government for a class, a Government of, for and by the capitalist class—the workers doing the needful at the ballot box of course.

Who issues the bonds to national banks to make money by, to build railroads with for the Stanfords et al. and are even now considering the Nicaragua Canal scheme, another Panama green goods game, to fill the pockets of a few more hungry capitalists? What about our "war for humanity," you know, which is now clear to all and has been boldly acknowledged by the capitalists themselves, as being a means to advance their interests by creating an outlet for the sale of unpaid labor? But to come nearer home, what about the gold mine our own State Legislature opened up for that combination called the Roanoke Land Grabbers' Syndicate, whose piratical exploits you have endorsed time and again under the plea that the State must collect its revenues? Could not the State have through the proper officers collected its delinquent taxes and the penalty also, if need be, why did it assist those people in getting something for nothing? Because it was acting up to the principles upon which it was founded, i. e., to assist the capitalist class in their questionable pickings. Not only feeding them upon Government pap alone, but great chucks of cake and pie also.

But why enumerate? The fact is plain to every person—except a fool or an ignoramus—that all Governments, whether Monarchical or Republic, Despotic or Democratic, have always been and are now constructed for and used in the interests of the ruling class, be they blue-blooded aristocrats, or purse-proud capitalists. In ye olden times, kings would pour out the life's blood of their people as freely as water in their attempt to wipe out a real or fancied insult to their royal dignity (?), while a few hundred peasants' lives lost in a quarrel with the peasantry of the king's enemy would have been passed over contend. To-day a Spaniard might knife an American sailor in a Spanish or an American port, and beyond meting out or demanding justice there would not be a ripple on the surface of the diplomatic sea. But should our capitalists demand an inroad on Spanish or any other nation's territory for business, you know, why, the entire army and navy, with the wealth of the nation thrown in, even to the last per centum of finance or flesh would be at their service. You cry out, No Paternalism! Why, man, you and your class which you stand for could not live a minute without paternalism; it is your life's blood; you need it to foster your interests; yes, and you need it for weightier reasons: shall I whisper it? You need it to shake in the faces of your wage slaves, to overawe and hold them down.

Yes, we have a paternal Government for the classes, a kind and loving father who carefully guards and promotes the interests of his children—the capitalist class. But in his dealings with the common herd—the masses—(as they are contemptuously designated by their masters), to them the Government is tyrannical despot, knowing neither love nor mercy. We have seen our Federal and State Government—at the request of its favorite child, the capitalist—murder defenceless men, women and children at Buffalo, Brooklyn, Coeur D'Alene, Leadville, Hazelton and other places. Yes, Mr. Editor, our Government is a good, kind, indulgent parent to the capitalist class, who rob their dad and the workers to boot, in order that they may spend their ill-gotten gains or harlots & in Seelye diners, et al.

But to the workers (who create all its wealth and fight all its battles) the capitalist State always appears clothed in the garb of cold authority, its hand grasping the blood-stained sword of the tyrant, and above all the black, scowling visage of the cruel despot. The above is a true picture of all our modern Governments, no matter what their title may be, and to overthrow which the large and ever increasing army of Socialism is marching steadily on.

WHO SHOULD OWN THE WEALTH.

You further state that, "Given a Government which simply undertakes to protect its citizens in their personal property and rights, in their life and liberty, preventing one citizen from trespassing upon the rights of another, and giving each citizen the same opportunities with every other citizen to earn a living and accumulate property, but giving assistance to no one, discriminating neither for nor against any particular class of citizens, you will find under such a Government a vigorous, active, independent, mainly citizenship."—Sure, Mike, but where is that Government to-day? Aye, where? Not in the domain of the United States, nor elsewhere.

It is an axiom that no one has any right to wealth or property unless he himself create it, and as the workers create all the wealth it is therefore rightfully their personal property, and according to your argument the Government ought to use all its powers in protecting them in those rights and preventing one citizen from trespassing upon the rights of another. If that be so, how comes it that those who create no wealth are allowed to own it, and those who do create it all are hungry, homeless and naked. In constructing your governmental machine you must have lost one of the principal screws somewhere, which has caused it to revolve backwards.

Again, where is the Government to-day which gives equal opportunities to all. Not here, my child, not here, there can be no equal opportunities with the means to life left to a few private individuals to use as they see fit. Your assertion is some more of that old exploited lie, i. e., that thrift and economy is the sure road to success and every man-child may become President of the United States. "There may be struggle, but in struggle there is always development," you say. How learnedly those words sound! Of course there is development, a development of wealthy aristocrats on top, and a mass of gibbering starvelings underneath.

Now let us look at your other picture, with which you wish to scare the starving workers away from the bad Socialists; here it is: "Glyen a Government which undertakes parental care of its SUBJECTS, providing employment, food and raiment for them, you will find a nation of milksoaps." Great Scott! this thing is getting interesting. The Government provides employment, food and raiment. Oh, I see, the private capitalist provides these things for the workers; he digs and delves, he weaves and spins to provide food and raiment for the workers, ungrateful wretches those workers are. Oh, no! he only lets them use his tools, for which they pay him 75 per cent. of what they produce and keep the 25 per cent. to buy food and raiment, pay rent and doctors' bills with. Magnificent capitalist, sure! And now, would you believe it, those bold Socialists are trying to put into the heads of the workers that it would be of greater benefit to them if the Government provided them with the tools free of charge and allowed them to un-retract home, free medical attendance and all the food and raiment and everything else they could make. But, you see, that would destroy the incentive, you know, and make milksoaps out of them. According to your idea, Mr. Editor, a person to be manly, self-reliant and independent must, when he creates a dollar's worth of anything, be prepared to allow some greedy capitalist to step in and coolly appropriate to himself 75 cents' worth of it, and that should he who created it (the workman) demand what belonged to him, the dollar entire, why, then he was a silly milksoap and a disgrace to American manhood.

Out upon such childish reasoning! Government pap, indeed! Was there anything of the milksoap in the composition of the American Indian, that proud man who was only subdued by treachery and the force of superior military equipment? Did his Government (the Sachems) feed and clothe or shelter him? No! they gave him free access to the tribal lands and told him he could have what he produced. Was there any pampered babyhood about the old Saxon tribes of Germany or England or the Celtic tribes of Scotland? When they faced the enemy on the field, it was in the defence of hearth, home and Fatherland, truly and indeed, for the land belonged to their respective tribes. But what has their so-called civilized descendants (both at home and in the United States and everywhere else) to fight for, what has the proletariat of all lands to fight for? He has no home, no land, they are outcasts on the face of the earth, living on suffrage on other people's property, and who can and does dump them on the sidewalks of our great cities for the sake of a few paupers' dollars of rent. First deprived of work by the privately owned machine, next refused credit at the grocery store, and lastly thrown on the street by the greedy, grasping front pew holding follower of the homeless Nazarene. And yet, if the Government (the people) should demand that all should be housed, clothed and fed as becomes a human being, why, that would breed a nation of unmanly milksoaps. However, we will certainly by the experiment in the next few years, and if you be around and following your present theory of self (along with others of the same kidney), you from your Kingdom in Darkest Africa, should be foolhardy enough to invade the shores of our Commonwealth, led thither by the false hope that you would have a picnic with the milksoaps which co-operation bred, you would find to your everlasting confusion and hurt that from the picnics and starvelings, left them by competition, co-operation had developed (and without shorn struggle) a race of men, strong healthy and vigorous, who loved their land and was willing to die, if need be, in its defense.

Government pap in a true Democratic State! Why, sir, I am amused at you, in such a State to whom should it be given and by whom received? Who is the Government and who the people: pray, tell me, are they not one and indivisible? If the people are the Government and the Government the people, to whom could the people give if not to themselves, if, therefore, a person gives to himself what is his own, how can that be justly designated Paternalism, bosh!

I am afraid, sir, you have caught a whiff of the imperialist stench which is arising everywhere around, your statements to the contrary notwithstanding, therefore you are somewhat excusable in your use of the word SUBJECT in your comments. Besides, you have been too dying to old Mother England (and your kin across the waters, you know,) in your editorials and elsewhere for such a long time now that probably you mistook the Richmond for the London "Times" when making your comments, and that accounts for your use of a word which ought to be an abomination to the eyes and a stench in the nostrils of a believer in the principles of true Democracy—SUBJECTS. I expect you are in training so as to do honor to that old gambling reprobate, the Prince of Wales, whom our worthy grand lodge of A. F. & A. M. have invited to visit George Washington's Lodge. What an honor is in store for our noble grand lodge, sure!!! If, as you say, competition was a law ordained by God; and if you believe that Christ was also God, you put Christ in a terrible fix. Because competition and the golden rule won't mix. I expect, however, that you and all your class are somewhat like the Chinaman, who have each a little Joss of his own whom he prays to. Truly the sage has said: God did not create man in his own image, but man has made God in his image. He, i. e., God therefore appears to them in the form of a great ruler, and as all earthly rulers have their price, so is their conception of God. Hence their efforts by prayer and contributions to change the will of Him in whom they state there is no variableness, neither shadow of turning.

Competition is hate, and ignorance, confusion, bloodshed, anarchy, darkness—HELL. Co-operation is wisdom and love, order, peace, brotherhood, sunlight—HEAVEN. Wisdom and love, the masculine and feminine joined together in Government, result in peace and perfect harmony; separated result convulsions, revolutions, murder, prostitution, intellectual and physical, pestilence, vice and crimes without number. Yes, yes, you are afraid of the Socialist's heaven, as you term it. You are no doubt scared lest we serve you, as we are told God served the father of this system (which you so strongly endeavor to bolster up), you know he tried to run things up above and that he and his whole gang got dumped over the side, and such might be the fate of his children, the capitalist class and their lackeys, if (when we had fixed up things according to the will of the people) they would forthwith become a little rowdy.

On a previous occasion I made you familiar with this fact, that the present system of society was dying and that it could not hold out much longer. That the causes of its disease and ultimate death were concentration of wealth, absorption of the surplus wealth of which it robbed the producers—the workers. That in a few years (comparative) the Socialists would see that it was put quietly and decently away, i. e., if it did not struggle too hard. Anyhow, they are determined to put it to sleep, because its mental and physical malady is developing dangerous symptoms. Therefore I will not now bore you by going into details as to the Whys and Wherefores, but will simply close this letter by informing you of the fact that we are going to establish the Socialist Commonwealth soon. And that if you are this side the Styx at that time, I would advise you to behave like a good boy, and we will pardon you for past offences. I am informed that you are somewhat over the age limit, when Socialists will retire from their labors and enjoy the evening of life in the enjoyment of luxurious ease, therefore if you be good we will fix you up a nice home and allow you to live the balance of your days, just like you do now, i. e., on the labor of your brothers.

Respectfully,
H. D. MacTIER.
Manchester, Va.

TRAGIC PAGES.

(Continued from page 1.)

playpiano methods of the pluck-in-store, so does he despise the Dolan-Warner gang; and, consequently, refuses to be an ally of the fakirs by collecting dues on the check-out plan.

3rd.—De Armitt has the largest coal and best contracts in the Pittsburg District. The other operators use the Union as a means to fight De Armitt.

I discuss this question for the purpose of showing what a rotten the miners have to lean on in their pure and simple Union, and to point out that it is not by fighting De Armitt alone that any good can come to the miners but by fighting De Armitt and his whole class, small and big exploiters, not alone on the economic field, where the miners are weak, but on the political field, where De Armitt and his crowd are weak and where the miners are almighty strong.

With this article I bid the coal miners of Pennsylvania good-bye for a short time. I shall return to the subject later on with more facts for the benefit of the slaves of the pick and lamp in particular, and for the class-conscious workers of the nation in general.

These facts withal will be but in the nature of cumulative evidence of the rascality of the capitalist class and their allies, the pure and simple labor fakir, and of the utter hopelessness of the miner's striving to improve his condition by any of the methods he has pursued in the past.

His pure and simple Union can't assist him.

The church can't and won't assist him.

The laws framed by capitalists can't assist him.

The class-conscious economic organization, backed by class-conscious political organization whereby to capture the political power by his class is the only thing that can give him positive assistance.

In the meantime strikes will occur. More labor-saving machinery will be introduced in the mines.

More misery must continue to dog the miner's foot-steps.

It behoves us then to raise the banner of revolt on every hill and dale and valley of the Keystone State, despite church, capitalist and fakir opposition.

push the revolutionary propaganda of the S. L. P. and the S. T. & L. A. and hasten the day when the miners of Pennsylvania through their close class-conscious alliance of solidarity with their whole class the land over, will own the soil and the means to work it, and thus, becoming their own masters, hold what they produce, owe their living to none but themselves, and be free men in this now land of capitalist slavery.

T. A. HICKEY.

A HIND LOOK.

(Continued from page 1.)

slaves, war or no war, and you should never forget for one moment that your interests as workingmen are identical with the interests of the workers of all nations. Your conditions can only be remedied by uniting into one grand, class-conscious army of labor, whose object and mission will be and must be to abolish the system of capitalism and to establish in its place the Commonwealth—Labor-displacing machinery is driving you out of your usual occupation in which you earn a living, and the only remedy for you is, to control the machines, and you can control them only by owning them, collectively, and this collective ownership can only be brought about by the common exercise of your ballot, which is the mighty weapon that will emancipate you from wage-slavery. How I have not violated my instructions, I close my speech. M. RUTHER.

If such hard and useful truths can not be taken to heart except by the confirmation of experience, then let, at least, the experience not need to be repeated.

OFFICIAL.

NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE—Henry Kuhn, 184 William street, N. Y.

NATIONAL BOARD OF APPEALS—Secretary Robert Handlow, 103 Champlain street, Cleveland, O.

SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY OF CANADA—National Executive Committee—Secretary George Moore, 61 Ryde street, Montreal.

NEW YORK LABOR NEWS COMPANY—147 East 23rd street, New York City. (The party's literary agency.)

NOTICE.—For technical reasons, no party announcements can go in that are not in this office by Tuesdays, 10 p. m.

National Executive Committee.

Session of Jan. 31, with John J. Kinney in the chair. Absent: Wherry, Suter and Brown, the latter excused.

The financial report for the week ending Jan. 29 showed: receipts, \$75.00; expenditures, \$64.45.

The Secretary reported that the first supplement to the Socialist Almanac was out to be sold at 5 cents retail. Sections should push the pamphlet, and in conjunction with it the first large number.

Nelson A. Pidgeon, of Northport, Long Island, was admitted, with application, to membership at large.

The National Board of Appeals reported several decisions:

One on an appeal from Branch 2 of Section Cincinnati, against Branch 3 of the same Section for refusing to discipline two of its members; the Board decided that it had no jurisdiction, as the question must be determined by the Section before appeal can be brought before the Board.

One in the matter of Wm. J. Eberle and others of Section Pittsburgh, Pa., appealing from the action of the Pennsylvania State Committee, which had awarded \$100 to Comrade F. M. Gessner, former secretary of State Committee, for services rendered. The Board decided that this matter does not come under its jurisdiction, as much as the State convention of Pennsylvania, or the Section electing the State Committee, should first be appealed to and final appeal could then be carried to the National Board of Appeals.

A third in the matter of appeals of Melko Meyer and Peter Friesen, Jr., for misconduct in Section Detroit, Mich., for misconduct. After careful perusal of all papers submitted by Section Detroit, hearing upon the case, the Board unanimously came to the following conclusion: "That, in the opinion of the Board, the suspension of Melko Meyer and Peter Friesen, Jr., was not justified, though we recognize that Comrade Friesen's conduct at the time was gross and disgraceful. The comrades have violated no principle of the party or its constitution, and we decide that they be reinstated as members of Section Detroit."

Conrade H. W. Lee, London, England, the Secretary of the S. D. F. of England, in a letter that in August last, he had transmitted a translation and original of the resolution of the Socialist Committee in answer to our resolutions of fraternal sympathy when hostilities broke out; that some time after this he received a letter from our party mentioning that no answer had been made by Spanish Socialists and expressing surprise thereat; that thereupon he sent another copy and receiving no answer to this he wrote again. At neither of these letters had been written by both coming from one source and addressed to the same person, and both bearing upon the same subject matter, the case looks rather suspicious and suggests that our expansionist capitalist Government has expanded its care to the mails in European "black mail" style in order to prevent the publication in this country of these resolutions during the war.

The Secretary was instructed to procure another copy from London and to send a serious complaint to the Post Office, and demand an explanation.

Charters were granted to new Sections in Ouray, Colo., and San Rafael, Cal.

L. A. MALKIEL, Rec. Secretary.

Massachusetts.

STATE CENTRAL COMMITTEE.—A communication has been received by the Secretary of the Massachusetts State Central Committee stating that it being understood that S. C. C. is in favor of the referendum sent out by them at the request of three Sections in the State, and the correspondent is of the opinion that a statement ought to be made by the Committee in regard to this matter in the next issue of THE PEOPLE. The Committee submitted the propositions as they were called upon in the last issue of THE PEOPLE to do so, the Committee was not called upon to express their opinion, but to act, and to do so at once, which they did, but while the matter was under discussion by the Committee it was the opinion of the Committee that the coupon bonds covered the financial part of the question.

To put an organizer in the field will require at least \$100 per month, and it would require the sale of 250 of the coupon books, this would give the S. C. C. \$110 and the price \$100 and the sale of two books on the average, each book being any price, we are of the opinion that this is the best plan.

Local Sections have called for lists of organizers and speakers on account of many changes in the organization of the Sections the Committee have not yet put out a list, but will before long.

L. D. USHER, Secretary.

SOMERVILLE.—Section Somerville, S. L. P. held its regular meeting Jan. 24, and elected the following list of officers for the ensuing term: Organizer, Edw. N. Kelly; Recording and Corresponding Secretary, J. W. H. Williams; Financial Secretary and Treasurer, Harry Kerner; Literary Agent, Jacob Lorenz; Grievance Committee, Geo. V. Tierney, Louis Hinckley, and Miss Louise Packard. It was voted that the list of officers be published in THE PEOPLE.